131 Lolo retreated westward across Huang-mao Kang to Ta-liang
177 Shan. When Han-Chinese influence declined, the Lolo usually seized the opportunity to rebel. They came out of the mountains to disturb the different areas of the Hsiao-liang Shan so that in the Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien area there [2] was no peace.

101 Actually the Lolo regions are not limited to the Ta-liang
131 and Hsiao-liang Shan. In Sikang there are, besides Chao-chüeh, eight counties of the Ning-nan district and the Chiu-lung county of the K'ang-ting district, in which is also distributed a number of Lolo families. According to reports by various experts there is a Lolo population of about 600,000 in the ten counties of Sikang. East of the county seats of Yüeh-sui and Chao-chüeh [3] in the Ta-liang Shan area live comparatively pure Lolo clans, which have their own social system and have never been assimilated by Han-Chinese culture.

[162]

The region from the Chin-sha Chiang southward within Yunnan is also inhabited by the Lolo. Of the population in Yunnan, nine out of ten who live in the plains are Han-Chinese, while those who live scattered in the high hills and mountain valleys are the un-Sinicized groups. In the area south of K'un-ming and Ta-li, the Pai-i, who are closely connected with the Thai-Shan people, are the main ethnic group. From here northward the un-Sinicized tribes are mainly Lolo or those who have close blood relationship with the Lolo, like the Moso and the Lisu. The Lolo have also moved from K'un-ming and Ta-li southward and eventually extended outside of Yunnan to the Indochina and Burma borders, where their traces are still visible. During 1942 the author stayed in Yunnan for eight or nine months and carefully observed the un-Sinicized people in that province. By checking the reports from different experts, he estimated that the Lolo and related tribes in Yunnan amounted to at least one million.

[162]

101 However, the Lolo tribes who inhabit Yunnan are some-
177 what different from those who inhabit Szechwan and Sikang. Because the Lolo in Yunnan intermarry with neighboring nationalities, their physical appearance has changed slightly; culturally, no matter whether it is in material life or in customs and traditions, they are considerably influenced by the Han-Chinese. There are many Lolo who have become so Sinicized that they identify themselves with Han-Chinese and do not want to be called Lolo.

[143]

000 After this general picture of the distribution of the Lolo in Szechwan, Sikang, and Yunnan, we can go further to

131 still in the hands of the Lolo. It remains the main passage for the Lolo in Liang Shan to Sikang province. Even the communication line between Hsi-ch'ang and Chao-chüeh is sometimes under their control.

175 Towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty during the reign of
648 Emperor Kuang-hsü [1875-1907], because of the rebellions of the Lolo who occupied successively all the territories east of Huang-mao Kang, communication lines between the county seats and the towns were disrupted. Nevertheless, during that time the government still had a large number of troops in those areas and held quite a few villages and towns. For example, the area between Huang-lang and Lei-po was still Chinese territory without any disruption in communication. The other villages, such as San-ho K'ou, Yu-cha P'ing, Chung-shan P'ing, Lan-pa-tzu, Shan-leng Kang, Ma-ching-tzu, Hsi-su Chio, Hsiao-wu-chi, and I-tzu Ts'un, all remained in the hands of the Chinese. Although those villages could not be linked together, they still could help each other if something happened. Since the founding of the Republic of China the number of government troops stationed there has decreased and the Lolo have become stronger and more insubordinate. First, the Chinese lost Ch'ang-p'u-t'ien and so the communication line between Lei-po and Huang-lang was interrupted. Then Shan-leng Kang and Ma-ching-tzu were lost so that the western part of the city of Lei-po was threatened. With the loss of Yen-fêng Shan and Yu-cha P'ing, the road from Ma-pien to Ta-liang Shan was disconnected. Furthermore, the Chinese lost San-ho K'ou with the result that the connection between Ma-pien and O'pien was also disrupted. In 1937 the magistrate of Lei-po county, named Lo Mien-nan, was beaten to death by the Lolo at I-tzu Ts'un, but the government took no action against the rioters and since then its influence has further declined. So the Lolo have no fear of the government and have fomented more rebellions and disturbances in the last twenty years.

131 The Ta-liang Shan and Hsiao-liang Shan regions described
162 above cover about 900 li from Ma-pien county in the north to Chin-sha Chiang in the south, and about 600 li from Lei-po in the east to Chao-chüeh in the west. The population of this area, according to the author's estimate of the regions he has covered in the trip, includes approximately 200,000 Lolo.

121 Because of time limitations, the field team led by the author could not travel everywhere in Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Shan; so we could only use the area of our inspection as the basis for research (see Map 3). From I-pin upstream

156 and Ting-chia P'ing belonged to the sphere of influence of the
554 Pu-chi branch which was an enemy of the Li-ch'ü, and that
622 there was bound to be a conflict if Ta-chi should lead the way
614 and was stopped by the Pu-chi clan. So he ordered a member of the A-cho clan, who had no feud with the Pu-chi, to guide us. In this way there would be no occasion for a fight and no danger on the road. This is evidence of Ta-chi's tactfulness.

614 The maintenance of clan order depends upon the close
627 union and co-operation of a wise, brave leader and the subjects who support him. Any conflict or quarrel that arises in the village is always settled by the black Lolo master, whose decision is obeyed by the white Lolo. As for a dispute among the black Lolo themselves, it is usually arbitrated by influential, responsible persons, such as village leaders, or pao-
[888] t'ou. Clan members rely upon an older person for his rich experience and superior judgment, and his words are consid-
622 ered model utterances to be followed by all. When an older
628 person is a responsible village leader, he need not participate
887 personally in a clan feud; instead, he could stay in the village to make plans and to send out his younger brothers, sons, brother's sons, and others to head the expedition. The leader of Pa-p'u village, Li-ch'ü Hsiao-ha, is a big, stalwart, and well-experienced old black Lolo. Because of his age, he always stays at home and sends his nephew, Lao-mu, to settle
[554] village affairs. Only twenty-five, Lao-mu is known for his bravery. Once he captured singlehandedly three Han-Chinese slaves, who were fleeing from Ta-liang Shan, in an old forest
[115] at Ying-li-lo-ku on the east side of Huang-mao Kang. This time when our inspection team entered the mountains, Ta-chi [25] employed Lao-mu as the second headman-protector, partly because Lao-mu has the backing of his uncle [father's elder blood brother] Hsiao-ha, who is the number one ying tu-tu of the Li-ch'ü branch.

621 The entire Li-ch'ü branch has its center in the region
614 where the waters of the I-ch'ê Ho and the San-ho-i-chê con-
● [162] verge. It includes Pa-p'u, I-lu, and San-ho-i-ta with a total population of more than a hundred households. Of these, only 14 are black Lolo, the others being white Lolo. Li-ch'ü
622 Hsiao-ha is not only the leader of Pa-p'u village, but also the
554 head of the entire Li-ch'ü branch. The Lolo of Liang Shan all
614 call him "A-lo Wu-hêh," and none dares call him by his first name, Hsiao-ha. To call him A-lo, the original ancestor of the clan, from which the Li-ch'ü has branched out, is to show him respect. Wu-hêh is a term of respect in the Lolo language. In the entire Li-ch'ü branch, only one person can be

601 to others, ego would refer to his father as "father." Direct address is used when he directly addresses his kin. Thus, in front of his father, ego would call him "papa" instead of "father." Terms of direct address have great use in daily life and all kinship relations are expressed through them. Therefore they should not be neglected in our discussion.

We shall start with ego's generation. Like the Chinese, the Lolo have four special terms of indirect address for elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, and younger sister, but the situation is slightly different in direct address. Elder brothers and sisters call the younger ones by name without any special term. On the other hand, younger brothers and sisters address the elder ones according to a definite order, that is, elder brothers and sisters are numbered according to the order of their birth and thus conveniently addressed (for details, see Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 1). There are respectively five terms of direct address for elder brothers and five for elder sisters. If a person has six elder brothers, then he would use the same term of address for his sixth elder brother as for the fifth elder brother. As a matter of
●[162] fact, the lack of population growth and the high mortality rate among the Lolo makes it exceedingly rare to have more than five brothers in a family. The children of father's elder brothers are all called elder brothers and sisters in their age order, even though some of them may be younger than ego. On the other hand, the children of father's younger brothers, whatever their age, are called by their names. There is, however, in Lolo language a collective term, ma dzz gni mo, for all Lolo elder and younger brothers and sisters to denote their general relationship. The terms of address not only express personal relationship, but also regulate the behavior pattern within this
[582] relationship. For instance, intermarriage between Lolo males and females in the ma dzz gni mo relationship is absolutely forbidden. In an extended application of the term, all male and female members of the same generation in the patrilineal clan, due to their common brother-sister relationship, are also not allowed to marry each other.

In addressing the elder and younger brothers of father's generation, there is one term for lineal kin and another for collateral kin, which includes father's elder and younger brothers without any age distinction. That is to say, the Lolo term of address is unlike the Chinese in that it does not distinguish between father's elder brother and younger brother; similarly the Lolo have only one term of address for father's elder and younger sisters without any age distinction. The Lolo term

463 black Lolo tend sheep themselves and do not consider ani-
564 mal husbandry a mean job as farming is. Furthermore,
233 every year during the shearing season, the black Lolo usually participate in the work; they especially take the leading part in the "wool fair" at Huang-mao Kang.

174 The fact that the Lolo look down upon farming gives the
564 author the impression that animal husbandry was originally the main economic activity of the black Lolo and that the Lolo were formerly a pastoral people. It was only after the conquest of the white Lolo and the capture of the Han-Chinese as slaves that the black Lolo started farming by forcing the conquered people to cultivate the land. Most of the white Lolo were originally Han-Chinese [62] who, having lived in the Lolo territory for many years, forgot their Han-Chinese ancestry and considered themselves as Lolo. This point will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter, "Classes." Here it suffices to mention briefly that the difference in the Lolo attitude towards grazing and farming may be attributed to the differences in the former economic life of the black and white Lolo, or in the relationship of the conqueror and conquered.

241 Agriculture, however, is the most popular enterprise
564 in the Lolo area today. Although the black Lolo do not cultivate the land themselves, the white Lolo, who constitute 80 to
[162] 90 per cent of the total population, are all engaged in farming. Provisions for both black and white Lolo depend upon the produce from the fields. In other words, agriculture is the main economic stay of the Lolo who have, however, a special system of their own in agricultural activity.

423 In Lolo villages, all arable land is the property of the
564 black Lolo. Due to the many divisions and branches within the clan, to the new economic units formed by the grown-up children at the time of their marriage, and to the inheritance of land by male heirs after the death of their father or grandfather, each black Lolo family has its own plot of land. In other words, the right of land ownership is geared to the family unit. This, however, applies only to the arable land for agricultural production and is quite different from the outlying village land, which has no clear-cut boundaries. The
423 village district includes the dwellings, the land or field en-
621 circling each house, the outer grazing land, and even the forests, mountain streams, and rivers. Actually only the house and the field constitute the land owned by each family, while the outlying pasture and forest are the common property of the entire village. Everybody has the right to use them, including all outside people who are not clan enemies. Different

Some of the especially powerful black Lolo aristocrats were appointed by Chinese emperors of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties as t'u-szu [native chiefs] and t'u-mu [native officers]. This was done to appease the Lolo so that they would not rebel against the government and plunder and kill the Han-Chinese. After the initial appointment, the t'u-szu office became hereditary. During the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty, there were in the Lei-po region three t'u-szu families: the Kuo T'u-szu at Huang-lang, the An T'u-szu at T'ien Ku-mi, and the Yang T'u-szu in Lei-po city. Today, the Kuo family is without posterity; only two girls remain of the An family; of the Yang family, there is only a daughter named Tai-ti, as mentioned in a previous chapter. At the beginning of the Republic, there were further changes in the t'u-szu system. Moreover, the lack of a male heir in these families has caused a rapid decline of their power with the result that the Lolo people no longer take orders from them and that as a matter of fact the t'u-szu system has become [72] completely disorganized. The t'u-mu were formerly Lolo military officers or close relatives of the t'u-szu. After the decline of t'u-szu power, the title of t'u-mu has been applied without distinction to all and any influential black Lolo. For example, Hu Hsing-min of Wu-chio, who went to Lei-po to receive Chinese militia training and has become quite Sinicized, has been upheld by members of his clan as their leader and called t'u-shê by both Han-Chinese and Lolo. In Wu-chio, because of its proximity to the Han-Chinese city, the people generally adopt Chinese terminology, but in Liang Shan itself there are actually no such titles as t'u-szu or t'u-shê. For those powerful black Lolo leaders whom the Han-Chinese call pao-t'u, the Lolo term is merely ying tu-tu.

At present there is only one black Lolo class which constitutes the ruling power in Liang Shan. On the average, there are ten white Lolo families for every black Lolo household. Take, for example, the Li-ch'ü branch in I-ch'ê Ho: there are five black Lolo households among the 50 households at Pa-p'u; nine black Lolo households among the 33 at San-ho-i-ta; and no black Lolo households among the 31 at I-lu. Thus, there are altogether 14 black Lolo households in the area compared to 100 white Lolo households. This number, however, does not include the various white Lolo pai-hsing subjects and Han-Chinese slaves of the Li-ch'ü branch around the P'u-ch'ien, A-ku, and Ku-p'eng area. Therefore we conclude that on the average every black Lolo family controls about ten white Lolo households. Actually a powerful black Lolo would have many more "subjects" and slaves and a weak black Lolo much fewer.

564 laboring class. Originally, they were the household slaves
567 of various black Lolo clans; in a number of cases, these household slaves were later promoted to become "subjects." This kind of advancement, however, is achieved not through the use of money and property to gain the freedom of the person, but through a long period of faithful service to the master, thereby gaining his confidence and receiving from him land to establish a household. Then gradually they advance to the "subject" status. This promotion cannot be gained overnight and it usually takes a considerable period of time, sometimes as long as several generations. In Li-ch'ü Ta-chi's household, there is a slave by the name of Hu, who was captured in the battle of Shan-leng Kang in 1919. He has already served his master for more than 20 years and has won his master's confidence. A wife has been given him and she has borne him a child. He now owns a small house near Ta-chi's and farms his own land, but he still comes in to perform service for Ta-chi and to help in the management of household affairs. When the inspection team stayed at San-ho-i-ta, although Ta-chi had many other household slaves, Hu still had many duties to perform, such as killing and skinning sheep, building the fire, and cooking. He was also ordered to take the author to visit the mountain behind the house. Actually, Hu has not yet achieved "subject" status, partly because of his Han-Chinese origin — it is not until the second or third generation when their descendants no longer consider themselves Han-Chinese that the household slaves could become "subjects."

In their potential advancement and demotion as well as in their mobility, household slaves and "subjects" have social positions that are not very much different. [77] In Liang Shan today the "subjects" are the majority. The population is
[162] approximately one-tenth black Lolo, two- or three-tenths Han-Chinese slaves, and the rest is all white Lolo. After many
564 generations and long years, the white Lolo "subjects" have their own family names and clans. For example: the Ch'ê-pi
614 white Lolo branch in the Ku-p'eng and P'u-to-i-ta area is
551 quite populous and influential. To the west of I-lu is the Su-chia white Lolo branch, also very prosperous. At Wu-chio west of Lei-po are the white Lolo families of Tu, Ts'ai, Yang, and Po under the rule of the black Lolo Hu Hsing-min. Since the White Lolo have clan names, they marry outside of the clan and their kin relationship is the same as the black Lolo's. Also their clothing, food, housing, modes of travel, customs, traditions, and so on are entirely similar to the black Lolo's.

Sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo

282 THE FRIENDLY WIDOW'S HOME

[162] She has three sons and five daughters, all at home with her. Here again our visit had to do with the marrying of a daughter, but this time it was Mr Long's turn and I was left alone. Ah-ku was very anxious to get one of her daughters betrothed to one of Mr Long's sons, and this was partly why she had been so pressing in her invitation to us. It is an expensive thing in Nosuland to marry a daughter of a Black Blood. Two or three hundred taels, say forty pounds, have to be given for the bride, and Ah-ku was likely to make a good thing of her daughter's matrimonial ventures. If the parents of the girl are generous, they will often send their daughter away with a well-stocked trousseau, equal in value to a good part of the money presented to them by the bridegroom's parents. If, however, they are near, and bent only on making a good bargain for themselves, they will send the girl away with bare necessaries, and keep the silver they have received for themselves.

Our evening meal the first night we stayed in the friendly widow's home was prepared in a different way from the suppers of previous days. There was, however, a cruelty about the preparation which would disgust most Westerners. A very fine calf was led into the courtyard, facing the room where we were staying, and seeing they were about to kill it for us, I begged them to desist, saying that a sheep would be ample, and would satisfy all the requirements of the widow's hospitality. But in this request we found ourselves up against an opposition we were unable to overcome. All the retainers, to a man, were against us. They were bent on a good feed of veal, and were determined not to allow the guests to interfere with their wishes.

One man led the calf by a rope and another of the slaves

mao Ridge) and their power shrinks back to the Ta Liang Shan. When Han-Chinese power weakens here, the Lolo tribesmen go on a rampage and disturb the Hsiao Liang Shan region, so that there is hardly a day of peace and security in Lei-po, Ma-pien, Ping-shan, and Ngo-pien Districts ...

Actually, the Lolo habitat is not restricted by the Great and Lesser Liang Shan. Large numbers are found in Kuei-chou. In Hsi-k'ang, apart from the number in the Liang Shan there reportedly are some 600,000 Lolo in ten districts in the east. Within Yun-nan south of the Chin-sha Chiang also are a number of Lolo districts. The high altitude basins of Yun-nan are 80-90 per cent Han-Chinese in population. But the high mountain valleys and plateau lands are inhabited almost entirely by mountain tribes people including Lolo. South of a line between K'un-ming and Ta-li, the Pa-yi or T'ai tribes are the predominant group of tribes people, living mostly in the low-lying plains and basins. North of this line, the tribesmen are Lolo and related groups such as the Mo-hsieh (Mo-so) and the Li-hsieh (Li-su). The Lolos also have spread south of this line, and there are even small numbers in Vietnam and Burma. Lin Yueh-hua estimated that the Lolo and Lolo-related tribes people in Yun-nan numbered not less than 1,000,000. The Yun-nan Lolo differ from those of Ssu-ch'uan and Hsi-k'ang in that they have become highly Sinicized and have intermarried with Han-Chinese and other peoples, so that in features as well as culture there have been changes. Many of the Yun-nan Lolos consider themselves Han-Chinese and do not like to be regarded as Lolo. The northern Lolo, however, find their backbone in the so-called Black-bones who are a race of aristocrats scorning the Han-Chinese and maintaining a strict racial separation. The Chinese Communist Ya-kuang Atlas for 1952 gives a figure of 3,000,000 for the total number of Yi or Lolo in the southwestern provinces.

The Liang Mountains branch off from the Kung-ho Shan and divide into four great branches. The first and northernmost is between Ma-pien and Ngo-pien. In the Lolo area it is known as the Wan-shih-p'ing Mountain Range. It is the water-divide between the Ta-tu Ho and the Ma-pien Ho. The second branch is the main range of the Ta-liang Shan. It runs from Huang-mao-kang in the north and extends through Huang-ts'ao-p'ing, Yen-feng-Shan and Ta-feng-ting to reach Nan-huang-ts'ao-kang,